DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 331 628 PS 019 518

TITLE Symposium on New Directions in Human Development and Family Studies: Research, Policy and Program Interfaces (Baroda, India, November 8-10, 1990). Report of Symposium Proceedings.

INSTITUTION Baroda Univ. (India). Dept. of Human Development and Family Studies.

PUB DATE Nov 90

NOTE 36p.

PUB TYPE Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS Conferences; Developing Nations; Family Life; Foreign Countries; *Indigenous Populations; *Individual Development; *Policy Formation; Program Development; *Research Methodology; *Research Needs; *Theories

IDENTIFIERS *India

ABSTRACT

Deliberations at a national symposium on new directions in human development and family studies in the Indian context focused on: (1) assessment of the knowledge base; (2) identification of gaps in substantive content and scope for improving methodology; (3) delineation of research needs with special attention to gender issues; and (4) preparation of guidelines for strengthening interfaces among research, programs, and policy. Participants saw a need for indigenous theories and models that would provide a framework for viewing Indian reality through Indian eyes. These theories and models would be based on data gathered by tools and tests developed for and suited to Indian conditions, but would draw from the fund of knowledge and technology accumulated in the West. It was agreed that: (1) conditions require researchers and policy and program planners to take a holistic view of the situation they seek to change or remedy; (2) programs must be designed to address the real needs of the group or community for which they are intended; and (3) effective linkages require improved communication between researchers, policymakers, program planners, and the public. Priority areas for research in human development and family studies are delineated. (RH)

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Symposium on

NEW DIRECTIONS IN HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND FAMILY STUDIES : RESEARCH, POLICY AND PROGRAM INTERFACES

November 8 - 10, 1990

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Report of Symposium Proceedings

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Department of Human Development and Family Studies
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Baroda.

" . . . we have now come to a stage of human culture in which we have compartments of knowledge but not knowledge itself : specialization but no integration : specialists but no philosophers of human wisdom. This over-specialization of knowledge is not very different from the over specialization in the Chinese Imperial kitchen. Once during the collapse of a dynasty, a rich Chinese official was able to secure as his cook a maid who had escaped from the palace kitchen. Proud of her, he issued invitations for his friends to come and take a dinner prepared by one he thought an Imperial cook. As the day was approaching, he asked the maid to prepare a royal dinner. The maid replied that she couldn't prepare a dinner.

'What did you do, then ?' asked the official.
'Oh, I helped make the patties for the dinner', she replied.
'Well, then, go ahead and make some nice patties for my guests.'
'Well, then, go ahead and make some nice patties for my guests.'

To his consternation the maid announced : Oh no, I can't make patties. I specialized in chopping up the onions for the stuffing of the patties of the Imperial dinner.

Lin Yutang in 'The importance of living'

RED DOT BARODA. Ph. 323335

New Directions in Human Development and Family Studies : Research, Policy and Program Interfaces

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The deliberations in the national symposium on "New Directions in Human Development & Family Studies" (Nov. 8-10,'90) focussed on assessing the knowledge base available in Human Development and Family Studies, identifying gaps in substantive content and scope for improving methodology, delineating research needs with special attention to gender issues, and preparing guidelines to strengthen research, program and policy interfaces in Human Development and Family Studies. The summary, presents a brief view of the themes and issues that emerged.

1. There is a need for indigenised theories and models to provide a framework for viewing Indian reality through Indian eyes, based on data gathered by using tools and tests developed for and suited to Indian conditions, yet drawing from the fund of knowledge and technology accumulated in the west. Training researchers in sensitivity to the Indian reality should be a part of the curriculum of university departments.

The plea for indigenisation and contextualisation also extends to program planning and implementation. There is a need for research to ascertain people's needs, and the supports already available to meet these needs, including traditional child rearing practices beneficial to development.

2. A sound theoretical framework can only result from a body of basic research. There is debate, however, on whether or not a developing country like India can afford the luxury of basic research.

What is clear is that Indian researchers have been inadequately analytic in their orientation to research, seeking to measure outcomes, rather than to understand processes. There has also been a tendency to associate a behaviour or a phenomenon, with the presence or absence of gross and relatively static variables like caste, socio-economic status, income etc. It is necessary that these variables be unpackaged. There has been a tendency, in India, to postulate theories based on inadequate research investigation and analysis. Researchers must be more rigorous, and theories postulated with caution, stating the boundary conditions of each theory. Further, theories in Human Development and Family Studies should be comprehensive enough to account for and explain the behaviour of both genders.

3. Since Human Development and Family Studies is allied to other disciplines like Psychology, Social Work, Social Welfare, and even Medicine (Paediatrics, Psychiatry), there is much to be gained from an interdisciplinary orientation to research, and through research to policy and program formulation.

4. Researchers today are confronted with an array of advanced techniques of recording, interpreting and analysing data. They should make the best use of such techniques, without becoming slaves of technology.

Technology apart, the researchers must understand the strengths, limitations, and relevance of the methodology they wish to use, to the stated objectives of the research study. With regard to tools for data collection, the problem of Western tests and tools being inappropriate in the Indian context is well known. In addition to efforts to improve the situation vis-a-vis standardised tools, researchers must look to non-psychometric methods as an alternative. Unobtrusive observation and ethnographic methods of obtaining data merit wider usage.

5. Some priority areas for research in Human Development and Family Studies are delineated below.

There is need to conduct research on traditional child rearing practices, and on infants. In Early Childhood Care and Education, there is need to study the relationship between quality of preschool programs and enrollment and retention in primary grades and also to understand the conditions under which different groups differentially benefit from various interventions programs, such as Integrated Child Development Services. Research is required on the means to diagnose and address the problems of children with special needs, in the Indian context. Attempts should be made to know more about the survival strategies of disadvantaged children, who seem to have survived traumas of violence, destruction and upheaval. Girl children should be the focus of studies in their own right, since the fact of gender discrimination against them is widely known and accepted. Above all, research endeavour must be grounded in the Indian social reality and geared towards understanding the diverse reality of Indian children's lives.

6. It is necessary for researchers, policy, and program planners, to take a holistic view of the situation they seek to change/remedy. The great efforts towards the universalisation of primary education, do not seem to have always worked in favour of the child. Nor has legislation regarding child labour been successful in preventing or even regulating this evil. The approach to these problems has been piece-meal, seeking to suppress the symptoms without understanding the underlying maladies.

7. Programs must be designed to address the real needs of the group or community they are intended for. Communities react differently to programs supported by different organisations. The programs of voluntary agencies generally gain more community support than programs offered by government agencies. Research must ascertain why this is so, and the feedback thus obtained should be used to make government programs more acceptable. The goal of program planners/implementors should be to make the community self reliant, and motivate and train the community workers to act as change agents. Program designers should view program accessibility as an important dimension in the effectiveness of programs. Quality of programs is another important determinant of their effectiveness.

8. Finally, the key to effective linkages between the Research, Program and Policy Interfaces lies in better communication between researchers, policy makers, program planners and the public. Relevant research findings should be communicated without using technical jargon, to the planning bodies as well as to the public. Effective use should be made of the media to disseminate research findings and increase program accessibility. Certainly the channels of two-way communication between the researchers, policy and program planners should be kept unblocked, to facilitate a mutually supportive, synergistic relationship, leading to more effective utilisation of resources.

I. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

In the last decade the Department of Human Development and Family Studies (HDFS) has been increasingly involved in research studies and consultancy services in Human Development and Family Studies and allied disciplines, apart from the academic tasks of teaching and guiding students. This involvement has provided the faculty with a fairly keen sense of some of the lacunae in the present research approaches and methods, and of the tenuousness of the link between research, social policy and program implementation. There are glaring gaps in the data base and conceptualisations related to the Indian child and family. Reviews of research proposals (in Human Development and Family Studies) submitted to various funding agencies and journals, and referred to the Department's faculty for comments/review often reveal the basic weakness of researches in the field, in terms of poor conceptual frame work, research methodology and poor ecological validity. Since the Department of Human Development and Family Studies has played a leadership role in promoting research, developing curriculum and launching a variety of community outreach programs, in the field, it was, therefore just the right time to initiate some action, by gathering a small group of serious researchers and scholars in Human Development and Family Studies and allied disciplines. Such a meeting was intended to bring together on a common platform policy planners, experienced scholars and the young generation of scholars to articulate research needs in Human Development and Family Studies as relevant to the Indian context, with special attention to gender issues, and to break out of the conventional paradigms and develop fresh perspectives. It was also intended to catalyse the development of the up-coming generation of scholars to enable them to identify, plan and conduct researches that are socially relevant. The symposium was titled "New Directions in Human Development and Family Studies: Research, Policy and Program Interfaces".

PREPARATORY WORK

Preliminary enquiries were sent to about thirty five persons who were either academicians and/or researchers in Human Development and Family Studies and allied disciplines, or representatives of funding, research and policy making bodies. Prospective participants were required to write papers on pre-selected themes within the areas of Family Studies, Early Childhood Care and Education, Family and Child Welfare and Human Development. The brief given to participants was that their papers present an assessment of the existing state of the art and data base, on the topic/ theme assigned, and analyse the implications of the present state of art and data base for policies and programs.

Synopses of concept papers, and then the full length papers were vetted by the Baroda team, (comprising of some members of the faculty of the department), and some papers revised on the basis of feedback provided by them. This process resulted in nineteen papers, for presentation at the symposium. Annexure I provides a listing of paper titles and authors.

THE INAUGURATION FUNCTION

The following persons addressed the gathering at the inaugural function :

Prof. V.C.Shah (Vice Chancellor, M.S. University of Baroda). Prof. V.C. Shah congratulated the Department for its efforts in carving a niche for itself in the

discipline. He highlighted the need to promote team work and interdisciplinary linakges. He articulated some issues which researchers in HDFS should investigate further, namely the break up of the joint family system and its effects on maternal and child care, the abuse of female child, and the moral and developmental problems of children of surrogate mothers. He stated that the pursuit of knowledge needs to be socially relevant, and lamented the deterioration in the state of child education in the country.

Prof. Amita Verma (Director, Women's Studies Research Centre, M.S. University of Baroda). Prof. Verma welcomed the group and highlighted the Department's constant efforts at promoting research and application in the area of Human Development and Family Studies. She stressed the need to check the over compartmentalisation of knowledge, occuring because of super specialisations, and to promote the urgently required process of integration of human knowledge, needed to acquire the wisdom of life. She also stressed the need for insight, common sense, wit, and plain but subtle intuition, in the quest for and application of knowledge.

Prof. D. Sinha (ICSSR National Fellow, University of Allahabad). Dr. Sinha commented on research, theory and program issues in HDFS. He highlighted the ills arising out of the compartmentalisation of knowledge, and stressed the need for an indigenous life span development perspective. He also articulated the need to understand the social context of tradition, family practices and rituals in the lives of human beings, and study their impact. The aim, Dr. Sinha said, should be to learn from all over the world but have a firm footing in the Indian socio-cultural and economic realities, in order to generate Indian models and theoretical linkages. Dr. Sinha emphasised the need for policy planners to investigate the effects on the family, of some of the changes which have occured in the society. Finally, he underlined the need for researchers to present facts to policy makers clearly and briefly, at the same time emphasising that policies are made under socio-economic and political pressures, and it may not always be possible for research to influence them. Yet the role of academicians and program implementors is crucial in reviewing and reflecting on policy, and in ensuring its correct implementation.

THE SYMPOSIUM (November, 8-10, 1990)

On the first two days participants presented their papers to the group, consisting of the authors, resource persons and some observers (for listing see Annexure II). The presentations were scheduled, as listed in the program (Annexure III), according to areas, namely Family Studies, Early Childhood Care and Education, Family and Child Welfare, and Human Development. Each presentation was followed by discussion, which was tied together by an appointed discussant. Major themes and issues that emerged are presented in the following sections of this report (see Section II for Theory related themes, Section III for Research Orientation, Section IV for Research Priorities, and Section V for Research, Policy and Program Interfaces).

On the third day participants, resource persons and observers were divided into two groups, namely :

- Group I - Human Development and Family Studies.
- Group II - Early Childhood Care and Education and Family and Child Welfare.

Each group spent a morning session examining major ideas that emerged during the symposium (aided by the rapporteur's notes from the previous two days), and formulating suggestions for future directions to strengthen the interfaces among research, public policy and programs in Human Development and Family Studies. These sugges-

tions were then presented at the final plenary session. A brief summary of the key points is presented later in this section

THE ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION (Nov. 11, 1990)

Senior scholars spent a morning thinking together on :

- o What facts do researchers in Human Development and Family Studies have to offer policy and program planners.
- o How can information be most effectively reached to these agencies; how can the tasks of theory building and translation of theory into action proceed simultaneously ?
- o What modifications are needed in the approach to research in Human Development and Family Studies, to make it more socially relevant and useful ?
- o What is the role of the Human Development and Family Studies researchers in social development ?

The Round Table Group formulated a set of guidelines to increase the sensitivity to the Indian context in the teaching-learning situation of Post Graduate Programs in Child Development and allied fields. These guidelines which have been circulated to concerned departments in universities and colleges all over India are contained in Annexure IV. The group also recommended the creation of a Task Force consisting of an interdisciplinary team of professionals, to promote the interfaces between research, policy and program implementation in Early Childhood Care and Education . The objectives of the proposed task force are contained in Annexure V.

KEY POINTS

The main points that emerged through deliberation of four days are summarised below :

There is a need :

- o for sensitivity to the Indian context and the socio-cultural milieu in which the Indian child grows;
- o to identify, utilise and disseminate research literature on the development of the Indian child in context;
- o to develop and standardise ecologically sensitive tools and encourage their use by research scholars;
- o for greater interaction among researchers, program planners and policy makers especially in relation to Child Development;
- o to develop alternative paradigms to investigate 'soft' areas of study in the field;
- o for focussed attention on gender issues as well as for sustained longitudinal research on Infancy; Socialisation; Ageing; Developmental Psychopathology; Growing up in the crisis situations.

The participants also stressed the need for dissemination of information, the importance of peer review of research, inter-disciplinary exchange, improved graduate training, and above all the need for reflection and contemplation.

PARTICIPANTS' FEEDBACK

The participants were asked to fill out an evaluation proforma, although some of the Baroda faculty chose not to, as they were part of the organising team.

The overall rating of the symposium was highly favourable, two thirds of the participants rating it as very well organised, and the remaining as good. Aspects of the symposium that received favourable responses included the choice of the theme and program organisation, the preparatory work and insistence on the use of audio-visual aids in paper presentation (to deter from reading).

Many delegates expressed disappointment that the invited planners and policy makers were not present, resulting in a lost opportunity for dialogue between researchers, program planners and policy makers. This was a matter of great disappointment to the organisers, as such a dialogue was a stated objective of this symposium. A view was expressed that the symposium theme should have been approached from a wider perspective including the socio-economic perspective and that, at least one economist should have been in the group. The exhausting schedule on Day 1 and the paucity of time for discussion after each paper also evoked dissatisfaction.

Several suggestions for follow-up action emerged from the evaluation. The majority of the participants felt that the follow-up actions should be undertaken both at the institutional level by organisations such as National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development, National Council of Educational Research and Training and university departments of Human Development and Family Studies and allied fields, as well as at the individual level, by each of the participants in their own work settings. Specific suggestions were :

- National Institutes (such as National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development, National Council of Educational Research and Training) should take up multicentric collaborative projects with university departments and work towards bridging the gap between academic research and existing field programs.
- Academic institutions should become actively involved in action programs and bring back the insights so gained to the classroom.
- There should be frequent exchange of ideas generated and actions taken in the wake of this symposium. Individuals and institutions should make efforts to facilitate such exchange.
- There should be follow-up meetings at National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development or National Council of Educational Research and Training to have focussed discussions on specific issues and concerns brought out in the present symposium. Some examples would be the contextualisation of research, ethnography and field research, and the research and program/policy interface.

Many participants listed the personal gains they had from participating in the symposium. These included the opportunity to interact with professionals including some very senior ones, in related disciplines, and exchange ideas and information, and their conscientisation regarding the need for indigenisation of the field.

The participants opined that a publication based on the papers presented at the symposium would serve as a useful document to academicians, research scholars,

policy and program planners, post graduate students in Human Development and Family Studies and allied disciplines (such as Psychology, Education, Social Work), and voluntary organisations. A view was expressed that only papers which would form a cohesive volume should be included. In addition other potential authors could be invited to write specifically for the proposed publication.

PUBLICATION OF PAPERS

The 19 papers are being reviewed to assess their suitability for inclusion in a book to be published, tentatively titled "New Directions in Human Development and Family Studies : Research, Policy and Program Interfaces".

II. THEORY : DISCUSSION POINTS

BUILDING A THEORETICAL BASE

Most research in Human Development in India lacks a conceptual frame work. A large number of facts and data exist, but these have not been integrated into conceptual frame works. In the face of the great heterogeniety of human beings and their cultural contexts, the principles of human behaviour that are framed must set boundary conditions to their applicability.

Indigenous Theories Theoretical concepts often evolve out of a specific cultural context and/or the theorist's individual life experiences. These concepts must be reconsidered before use in other cultural contexts. In different socio-cultural milieus there might be different ways of looking at reality. For instance, research on a child's development, focussing on mother-child interaction might show an Indian child as being singularly neglected, if it fails to acknowledge the child care roles of other members of the traditional Indian joint family. Frequently, such misinterpretations of social reality occur when the researcher theorist with a Western orientation and/or a Western theoretical framework fails to take cognisance of the boundary conditions imposed by the Indian culture and way of life.

Researchers must question assumptions rooted in Western theories, and based on observation of Western people, vis-a-vis origin of these assumptions and their relevance to India. There is a need for Indian scholars to reflect with sensitivity and objectivity, in order to understand the true meaning of observations made in Indian settings. In formulating Indian theory, theorists should look at data on Indian children and families, from an Indian perspective, and considering Indian practices, beliefs, values and conditions. For example, a Western theoretical model might suggest that the continuity of the adult-child world is reduced with urbanisation, and the resultant reduction in the physical proximity of adults and children due to specialised work places, schooling and organised play. An indigenous approach might be quite different, if one takes into cognisance the different manifestations of continuity in the adult-child worlds in India, where parents closely watch children's social and school activities, and continue to take major life decisions for their offspring even when the offspring is adult. The phenomenon of cultural persistence which seems to exist in India should be researched, and more be known about its positive value.

Similarly in the area of Early Childhood Care and Education, there is a need to define child-centredness in the Indian context. Use of the Piagetian model of child as creator, could result in the child behaving in ways unacceptable to parents in India. The applicability and usefulness of a model to local conditions, thus, needs to be viewed with caution. An Early Childhood Care and Education model based on the philosophical and cultural reality of the Indian setting, placing value on Indian cultural beliefs, recognising the role of parents and teachers, and attempting to provide for teacher-parent continuity is required.

Researchers and theorists in India, need to become "Indian" in thinking. Their education should include some sort of training in sensitivity to the Indian context. Not only is it necessary that they understand problems specific to India, but also, that research should be contextualised by looking through the problems to a true understanding and assessment of real felt needs. Alternative constructs and frame works should be developed from a culturally sensitive perspective using an indigeneous knowledge base and culture specific assumptions.

An indigenised approach to testing and tool construction is likely to be of use in formulating culture specific models. Indian researchers have been indiscriminately borrowing Western tests and instruments, and have used tests and tools of questionable validity. Simply dropping unsuitable items from foreign tests does not automatically render these tests valid for the Indian situation. Researchers developing tests must go beyond the narrow psychometric considerations in testing methodology and use Indian reality to conceptualise the constructs to be assessed.

Universal Vs Context Specific Theories Attempts are needed to build theoretical frame works not only at the immediate cultural level, but also at higher levels of abstraction, by uncovering context specific generalisations as well as universal laws. The questions before scholars are : should there be a complete indigenisation in the knowledge base, or should Western theories be modified to suit the Indian context ? Should there be an attempt to establish universal laws, or should context specific principles of human behaviour be laid down ?

Comprehensive Theories There is a need to question the existing theories in Human Development on their adequacy as explanatory frame works for women. Theorists need to know more about gender differences in behaviour, without attaching the tag of "norm" either to the behaviour of men or that of women. The currently prevailing theories of human personality and development tend to explain development and behaviour of females in relation to their deviation from that of males, implying limitations on the extent of a female's development. Traditional theory views the adult female as a being of attachments and relationships, and the adult male as an individuated, and therefore developed being. The world view on the nature of human development might change if a new look was taken, examining women's role, identity and socialisation with an alternate paradigm. The focus on women and gender issues, should not, however, be such as to obscure the prime goal of understanding all human behaviour and development in context. Comprehensive theories of human development are needed, which can adequately explain the behaviour of both genders.

Rigour and Caution in Postulating Theory Theory must go beyond explaining behaviours and outcomes as being linked to the presence and absence of certain factors and variables, and explain processes by which certain combinations of factors result in a certain outcome. The former superfical approach to theory building will result in a tendency to find a posteriori and unvalidated explanations for research findings.

There is need for caution in postulating theory without rigorously establishing the soundness of the empirical base and its interpretations. For better and more reliable theories, a multi-method approach to theory building could be used. Meta-analysis, which would reveal trends, could also be used to improve the soundness of the empirical data base. Certainly better research methodology is required. Tests and observational techniques, appropriate to the context should be developed, instead of borrowing and modifying (or worse, borrowing and not modifying) those from the West. Sampling should be rigorous and samples should not be restricted to respondents who are convenient to include, but should consist of people who adequately represent the target population. When using tests, their comparability across cultures/subcultures has to be thought of; the assumptions underlying a research study need to be viewed carefully to prevent external invalidation of a finding Statistical techniques should be chosen with care; suitability and not convenience should be the criterion.

There is a tendency in India for theories to be stated without specifying the limitations or boundary conditions of the researches which were used to arrive at them.

Further, a theory once postulated tends to remain alive, and this, coupled with the ease with which theories are postulated, results in mutually contradictory theories existing simultaneously with little attempt at empirical verification.

A conceptual point that theorists need to ponder is the distinction between a structural model, describing an adult behavioural system, its subsystems, ways in which these work and are connected to one another, and a developmental model which describes how the subsystem in the adult system came into being.

UNPACKAGING VARIABLES

There is a tendency, in Indian research to be preoccupied with gross variables like caste, tribe, Socio-Economic Status (SES) and so on. These gross variables have several components and only some of these components may be related to the phenomenon or behaviour under study. Consequently, researchers should attempt to unpackage these variables to associate, for example, specific factors such as meta-linguistic skills or information processing strategy with specific aspects of such a gross variable as Socio-Economic Status. Researchers must bear in mind that unpackaging variables will permit wider use of meta-analysis techniques, and thus result in a sounder data base for postulating theory.

INTERDISCIPLINARY COLLABORATION

There is need for intra- and inter-disciplinary collaboration and effort in arriving at and postulating theoretical models of human development. Interdisciplinary collaboration is required for a better understanding of the context of a phenomenon or behaviour. For instance, to understand the phenomenon of delinquency, it is necessary to combine the perspectives of Psychology, Sociology, Child Development and other allied disciplines. Such an interdisciplinary approach in recent times has been extended to medicine, an example being that of Bio-social Paediatrics, which seeks, along with providing treatment for the immediate illness, to discover factors which aggravate the condition and to mitigate the influence of these factors.

With regard to the available data base, pooling and looking at the data in an integrated manner on topics of common interest such as the family might lend meaningful insights into the nature of the phenomenon under study, for example family dynamics. Social scientists engaged in investigating family dynamics in "normal" families, and clinical psychologists working with families in distress, can mutually benefit from the knowledge base generated, and the different methodologies used by these two groups of researchers.

The use of an interdisciplinary approach necessitates a high degree of quality communication between disciplines, perhaps some duplication of effort and above all a willingness to share and learn from others. In most cases, though, benefits out weigh costs.

SPECIFIC EMERGENT ISSUES

Child Care Needs The meaning of child care has to be pondered over. It is recognised that child care needs are more than custodial care and should include developmental needs. Academicians need to deliberate on the question of what child care is doing for children rather than for their parents, to guide in providing services addressing children's development needs.

Concept of Family There is beginning to be a shift from the view of the family as a static concept, with family behaviour determined by relatively static and easily defined variables like caste, class, composition etc., to that of the family as a complete system in dynamic equillibrium, interacting with its environment as a sub system of the larger eco-social-cultural system. The latter approach would view family behaviours and outcomes as being influenced by both internal organisation variables, like family roles, power allocation, affection and support systems, as well as environmental variables and relationships. This web of inter-relationships increases the complexity of any approach to building a model to explain family behaviour.

Deviant Vs Normal Development There is a need to conceptualise and understand deviant development, for example in learning disabled children, with regard to normal development. A theoretical framework is necessary, in order to understand the nature, and extent of breakdown in children having learning disabilities. A wider data base on error patterns, which would lend itself to analysis, might aid in establishing such a framework.

III. RESEARCH ORIENTATION : DISCUSSION POINTS

ANALYTIC APPROACH

Research in Human Development and Family Studies in India is more descriptive than analytic or explanatory in nature. Most researches measure only outcomes, but do not investigate the process which resulted in the outcome. The analytic approach is especially important when the results are used to label people into categories, and these categories form the basis of intervention programs. For instance if children are labelled learning disabled on the basis of their scores on a battery of tests, without analysing the nature of their problems, discerned through the types of errors they make, they might either be so labelled wrongly, or the intervention program provided to them may not address their needs.

DEVELOPING CULTURE SPECIFIC TOOLS

Eco-cultural studies should be undertaken using indigeneously developed tools, taking account of activities and materials which children in a particular socio-cultural environment may find familiar and salient for them. Often mere adaptation of tests developed for a different population does not seem to work. While retaining the rationale of a test and the basic dimensions of the construct under study across cultures, tests could be developed using stimuli from the local context. Such an approach has been used successfully by some investigators, for example, Sinha's adaptation of Children's Embedded Figures Test to measure psychological differentiation in tribal children. A problem in developing such culture specific tests, however arises when attempting to establish the validity of the test. One way to establish validity would be to find out the extent to which the test can predict the behaviour in real life.

A further problem faced by professionals using psychological tests is that it is not possible for them to develop and standardise tools related to each aspect of behaviour and development themselves, nor is it possible for them to wait for psychologists to develop a standardised tool in the Indian setting. Therefore, researchers need to develop non-psychometric techniques, such as observation, for collecting data, simultaneously creating a formal or informal network to share the available standardised tools along with reviews on their characteristics and limitations. Also, alternative assessment measures, other than the standardised tests, are required. For example alternatives such as Feurestine's dynamic assessment and Vygotsky's notion of zone of proximal development to differentially diagnose children hold promise.

IMPROVING RESEARCH METHODS

Researchers must depart from the practice of using only conventional research methodology. They should develop and use alternate methods to capture a comprehensive picture of human behaviour in context, focussing on process mechanisms, rather than on measuring outcomes.

Unobstrusive observation is one such method, which interferes very little with the research scenario and subjects of research, and should be more widely used. It would be a suitable method to investigate, for example, the question of whether teachers are perpetuating gender stereotyping in classrooms and if so, how do they do so. Another emerging methodology is ethnography, a scientific method for making

qualitative analysis, which in many situations, allows generalisations to be made on human behaviour. Ethnographic methods seek to present data from the perspective of the population or sample being studied.

There is a need for better and more imaginative use of secondary data, to add to the repertoire of research methodologies presently used. Selected biographies and literature of a period in history are excellent sources of data on issues related to gender identity, parent-child interactions, teacher-child interactions, and the changes in these over time. Analysis of data collected from biographies and novels could contribute to meta level crystallisation of ideas, and result in innovative alternate techniques for research. Material from ancient Indian texts could provide insights on family and the role of women as understood in the ancient Indian tradition, and allow a better understanding of human behaviour in the current Indian context.

Techniques to tap data at the macro level of the society and family, and micro level of the individual need to be evolved. In complex areas of study, such as Family Dynamics, indepth research studies would benefit from exploring views of several members of the family. This would make for more complete and reliable information, and guard against investigator induced bias regarding the role of each family member.

Advancing technology has made available tools like audio and video tapes and films to collect and store data on. More use should be made of these advanced techniques and equipment. Likewise advanced statistical techniques like multiple regression, path analysis, covariance, etc. are available for analysing data, and researchers must department from their existing stand of using simpler techniques.

Researchers need to be sensitive to the advantages, disadvantages and limitations of the methodology and technology they are using. Multi-centric studies are difficult to manage, ethnographic studies are time consuming and require skill and sensitivity in the investigator. The use of video recording equipment might make the respondent camera conscious resulting in a change in his or her behaviour. Unobstrusive methods of observation do not capture a permanent record the way film does, but have the advantage of permitting the respondent to be more at ease. The researchers must understand the strengths and limitations of the method being used.

MAKING RESEARCH RIGOROUS

Increased rigour is required in research. Large scale multi-centric studies in Early Childhood Care and Education are needed, to increase the generalisability of findings and to measure sub-cultural nuances. Cross cultural data can be enriching to bring to light gender differences with reference to the social context. Multi-centric studies are difficult to conduct, retaining at the same time a certain degree of uniformity, but are nevertheless required.

Small scale indepth longitudinal studies are also required, using observational techniques. Retrospective studies which serve as an alternative to longitudinal studies in seeking to understand the processes underlying human behaviour, should also be undertaken. In view of a recent finding that Indian adolescent girls do not seem to go though identity crisis, as postulated by Erikson, retrospective studies could be undertaken to probe questions such as the following : Have the middle aged women of today undergone a period of turmoil, crisis and growth during their adolescent years ? If not, has this shown up in the form of a pattern of crises or turmoil later in life ? Perhaps greater use could be made of ethnographic methods,

made more rigorous by their use of a multi-method approach to data gathering. The point that emerges is that much can be gained from large scale multi-centric studies as well as small scale indepth ones, and a judicious combination of methods should be used.

REPORTING FINDINGS

More detailed reporting of research findings is required to share research experiences and enable researchers to build on the work of others. In disseminating research findings researchers need to ask themselves who the audience are, what language they will understand and accept most readily, and how the message can be communicated to precipitate action. Researchers in Human Development usually report their findings in English language journals and publications, which rules out their being read and understood by many Indians. A lengthy report on a project is written, sent around to the agency responsible for taking action, and action which often fails to materialise, is expected. If research is to make an impact, the researcher will have to express his or her findings and recommended line of action in fewer words, which the public can understand and the policy or program maker will accept more readily.

CONTEMPLATIVE VS POLICY ORIENTED RESEARCH

Today, the universities of India are perhaps the only places where contemplative, idea generating research, free from the presssures and constraints associated with program or policy oriented research, is still conducted. The apparent dichotomy of contemplative research versus policy/program research raises certain questions. Can researchers in India, a developing country, afford to use resources for the luxury of contemplative research ? Is contemplative research an unnecessary luxury or is it a luxury that cannot be dispensed with because of the wonderful new ideas and better ways of doing things it is capable of throwing up ? Does contemplative research then have a practical value, just the way program/policy oriented research does ? Does the academician researcher fit better into the role of contemplative researcher, because of the apparent role conflict imposed by program related research, requiring scientific rigour, scepticism and objectivity in, for instance, program evaluation, on the one hand, and involvement and committment in the programs, on the other. Researchers' involvement in, and committment to, the success of programs raises questions regarding how strict an interpreter/evaluator such a researcher can be while analysing data, and whether this involvement will not cause the atrophy of scientific scepticism so necessary in a researcher.

Another issue which arises is that policy or program related research is usually on priority areas articulated by government bodies. It is possible that this prioritisation has been made on considerations other than the strict need for the research for instance, out of political considerations. Thus contemplative research for idea generation, free from socio-economic and political considerations is likely to serve a useful purpose, and academicians should think about whether they will do such research, or merely become assistants in the policy justification or validation process.

IV. RESEARCH PRIORITIES : DISCUSSION POINTS

CHILD REARING PRACTICES

Research is required on traditional methods of child care and child rearing practices. This research should include means of effectively recording these practices using ethnographic methods; perhaps films could be made. Research is also needed to record the usage of indigenous games, toys and other developmental materials available for children. The purpose of such research would be to know what practices exist, and to assess which of these practices have a positive effect on child development and the continuation of which should be advocated/recommended by researchers. This information is required so that :

- in the name of modernisation, practices which have a positive effect on child development do not get forsaken;
- alien concepts are not unnecessarily imposed on people;
- suggestions offered by research are acceptable to the society.

The material documented by the use of ethnographic methods could also be used to train field level workers, and other people involved in the care of children. Such material, for example, films showing traditional child rearing practices, could be effective training tools, for teaching child development both in classroom and program settings.

INFANCY

Most Indian studies on the developmental aspects of children's behaviour have been on older children, over five years of age. There has been very little work on foetuses, neonates and infants, although the West has accumulated an impressive fund of knowledge about the development of basic sensory, perceptual and cognitive mechanisms in infants. There is a need to study temperament of neonates to understand the socio-emotional aspect of development. Studies should be undertaken on the temperament of babies and their mothers, and how one influences the other. Research on infants is also required to discover means of stimulating infant development.

Research on infancy is especially important now, because policy makers in India have become concerned with the welfare of children and pregnant mothers. If more were known about the developmental processes operating during infancy, it would be possible to aim interventions at younger children, and thus increase their effectiveness.

EARLY CHILDHOOD CARE AND EDUCATION (ECCE)

There is need for researchers from all over India to look at the gaps in the existing data base vis-a-vis Early Childhood Care and Education, and work out a set of priorities for research. Specifically, some areas meriting attention are listed below :

- Research in Early Childhood Care and Education is required on the means of improving the quality of Early Childhood Education (ECE) and the relationship between quality of Early Childhood Education, and enrolment and retention in the primary grades.

- There is need for impact evaluation studies with special reference to quality of Early Childhood Care and Education intervention.
- Research is required to discover which aspects of the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) have an impact on which group of people i.e. under which specific conditions and in which settings.
- Alternative replicable models for promoting psycho-educational development in the early childhood stage are required. Such models of Early Childhood Education should be evolved and empirically evaluated for their potential for going on scale. Projects which have been successful on a small scale should be tried out on a larger scale. An Early Childhood Education Management Information System should be worked out and tested.

CHILD CARE NEEDS

In India, the family, primarily the mother has been the chief caregiver for children. The family has traditionally been viewed as the only and/or the most appropriate setting where the child's interests can be looked after satisfactorily. Due to the increase in the proportion of mothers seeking paid employment, in settings where their children cannot accompany them, coupled with the decline of the joint family system, and the realisation that the child needs more than just custodial care, the family today is not, in all circumstances, the ideal caregiver. Research must inquire into the aspects constituting good care-giving including the developmental and custodial aspects, which can be provided within the framework of the existing social systems. Further, research must investigate the quantity and timing of child care needs. For example, for the vast agricultural sector, where women's participation in income generating activities is determined by peaks in the agricultural work load, child care needs vary with the agricultural cycle.

A curious aspect of gender discrimination, with regard to child care and education services presents itself for research. Females seem to be exploited even in what might be considered their strengths. There is an abundance of women in the field of education and child care, as these are viewed as feminine professions. However they are mostly in the under paid, under trained and exploited roles of anganwadi workers, helpers, teachers, field level professional and paraprofessional workers, and at the most, principals of primary and pre-primary schools. A question that needs to be asked is : Would the exploitation, and the resultant poor performance, of these workers stop if men were inducted into these jobs, or would the men thus inducted perform much less satisfactorily, under the poor conditions, than the women workers have been doing ?

FAMILIES AND CHILDREN WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

Developmental Psychopathology Development is a consequence of interactions between factors within and outside the individual. In this context research must seek to understand the role of biological and psychosocial factors in determining mental health. Even where the child displays clear evidence of brain damage, psychosocial factors such as neglect and understimulation can aggravate the problem. There is a need to know what these aggravating stressors are, at different points in a child's life, and their effect on the child. There are children who are brought up in miserable poverty, with every thing going against them, and yet some of them survive. Much could be learned by studying the survival strategies of such vulnerable yet 'invincible' children. There is a need to look at psychopathological and psycho-social factors, identifying those that lead to normal development and those that result in psychopathological behaviour. Research is needed to identify

causes of pathological families and the effects of psycho-social factors on pathology. The family should be understood in terms of its eco-cultural context. What needs to be grasped is the ethos or milieu in which families function, and that this ethos has both visible and invisible layers.

Preventing Disabilities and Handicaps More needs to be known on how to prevent disabilities, and how to communicate to the persons, parents or teachers for example, who interact with the child, the means to prevent disabilities. For instance, many handicaps are caused by preventable conditions such as malnutrition, contaminated injections, injuries and unhygienic or detrimental practices. Along with increasing services for the prevention and cure of handicaps, and for the handicapped, media can also play an important role in preventing handicaps. Diverse ways in which the media can be effectively used to educate the population on the causes, treatment and management of handicaps need to be researched.

Identifying Children with Special Needs Research is needed on the means of identifying children with special needs, many of whom exist unidentified in classrooms, with their needs unaddressed. There are almost no studies on special education and care of the mildly and invisibly handicapped. Similarly, studies focussed on the disabled girl child are needed. There is a need to develop easy indicators of psycho-social development to facilitate easy and early detection of deviant behaviour for providing effective intervention. The availability of simple measures will permit more children to be investigated, at less cost.

CHILD LABOUR

There is a need to know more about child labour in different settings. The definition of child labour is controversial : Is only paid labour to be considered or is the researcher to include unpaid work done in the home or outside, for example, in the care of siblings, fetching water and firewood etc. ?

Research must endeavour to discover what forces children to work long hours with little return, and under poor conditions. Research must also answer questions such as the following : Why do the parents allow children to labour so ? Is there any difference in the conditions under which children labour in the organised sector as compared to the unorganised sector ? What impact does legislation controlling the employment of children have - does it help or hinder child welfare ?

Research must also endeavour to find means to reach development programs to girls, who spend long hours labouring over unpaid work for their families, often providing their families with vital child care support.

THE WAY CHILDREN LIVE

Research must capture the reality of children's lives. Given the diversity of this reality, a number of important issues vie for the attention of the researchers. There is need to know how children spend their time in different socio-cultural and economic settings, and answer questions such as the following : How much play, leisure and rest time do children get ? How does the time utilisation of rural children compare with that of urban children ? How do girls spend their time? Does this differ from the manner in which boys spend their time ? Does the pattern of usage of leisure time change with the advent of new toys and games, and the television ? How do such changes, if they occur, affect a child's personality, and his or her preferences for spending time ?

Clinical experiences of stress in children's lives suggest a potentially important area of research for understanding the stresses which occur at different points in a child's life, and how the child copes with these. Questions such as the following require an answer. How do children cope with crises caused by social and political turmoil, riots and other forms of devastation ? How do they cope with poverty and the deprivations that it implies ? How do poor children cope with the work they are forced to do ? Under what conditions do they labour ? Do children get stressed in school ? What factors in most schools induce stress? How do school related stresses change over time ?

There is need to know the causes and effects of gender discrimination. Various questions to be addressed in this context are : Why do schools offer certain subjects that are implictly labelled as being for boys and not for girls, and in which girls are presumed to be disinterested and incompetent ? Does the school system perpetuate gender discrimination by suggesting separate roles for girls and boys ? What are the effects of such a role allocation on a girl's ability in later life ? How does a strereotyped role allocation affect a girl's perception of her self ? Why are there so few women in leadership positions ?

There is also a need to know more about the rural child, and how the child-adult continuity in rural India compares with that in urban India. Research should also investigate whether the fact of a child being sent to school hasasimilar effect on the continuity between the child-adult worlds as documented in the western research.

ROLE OF MEDIA

Media and Family More information is needed about the effect of media on the family, for example, about its role in providing or ameliorating surface differentiation of the child-adult worlds, its effects on family dynamics, and resultant effect on the behaviour of individuals within a family. There is also a need to know the effect of television on children's communication and socialisation.

Media and the Gender Bias The media and children's literature can be important tools to reduce gender bias. The potency of these tools, and the means to make these work in favour of women and girls, need to be researched.

V. RESEARCH, POLICY AND PROGRAM (RPP) INTERFACES : DISCUSSION POINTS

DATA BASE

There is need to ascertain the knowledge base available, and to ponder on whether this base in Human Development and Family Studies and allied disciplines, is sufficient to guide policy and programs. In the field of Early Childhood Care and Education, Early Childhood Development and Child Welfare there is adequate knowledge base in some areas to inform state and public policy. Research studies in such areas, should be concerted and co-ordinated to increase their relevance for policy making. There is a need to consolidate and document, and then to disseminate the knowledge available with researchers, to the makers of state and public policies and programs, and other concerned agencies so that decision making could be influenced by research.

SUCCESSFUL RPP LINKAGES

Instances of successful RPP linkages need to be documented in order to understand the factors that facilitate or hinder such linkages. In Early Childhood Care and Education some policy decisions have been influenced by research. For instance, the National Policy on Education, 1986, recognises the importance of Early Childhood Care and Education and recommends a holistic approach to programs for children, emphasising the dangers of introducing the three Rs to young children in early childhood stage. It also makes provision for providing day care services for mothers of young children, who will then be able to release their daughters to attend non-formal education programs. Research in Early Childhood Care and Education has also succeeded in communicating the importance of Early Childhood Care and Education and the need for appropriate materials for children's development to the public. This has resulted in more developmental aids and materials being available for children, in the last two decades. However, the awareness of the importance of Early Childhood Care and Education without clear understanding of the concepts, is probably also responsible for the proliferation of uncertified pre-schools which could very well be anti-developmental.

Evaluation studies of the Integrated Child Development Services scheme have discovered some instances of great successes, and others of poor performances. If more was known about the successful and unsuccessful programs, an attempt could be made to learn from the success stories and, where possible or appropriate, the more successful approach could be replicated. Research could and should delve into why a program has succeeded, why research, policy and programs have been able to forge linkages in some areas and not in others. Is it always because the knowledge base is greater in the areas where linkages are stronger ? Is there any connection between the strength of R-P-P linkages and what thoughtful reflection might list as the country's research priorities ? Is it something about the way researchers in different areas are communicating with policy makers, or the sort of tangible or intangible benefits their research seems to offer ?

STATE POLICY VS PUBLIC POLICY

State policy and public policy are not the same. Even in a democracy a particular state policy might not be have the concurrence of the public, and the state sometimes acts as though society resists change. The socially sensitive researcher must ponder : Is the state the only audience for her research ? Probably, not.

Does a researcher have responsibility to inform the wider public of research findings (which may or may not support state policy) ? If she is to inform the public, how must she do so ? Does she send out copies of the detailed reports available only in English, for public consumption or must she find some other language, medium and style to communicate to the public ? Does the public really need to know what the research finds, or does the public already know it ? Living with real people in real society means much more than telling them how to cope with the existing given. Can the research reconstruct the given ? Can the researcher change the world view ? Do things have to be the way they are ?

RESEARCHER'S ROLE

Linked to the above concern is the question of what is the distinctive role of university departments/research in informing social policy ? Are researchers merely to take on the reactive role of evaluating and monitoring state policies and their implementation ? Or do researchers have something radical to offer by way of new, tested ideas to shape policy ?

Research and researchers can, in fact, play a responsible role for rational decision making, rather than merely undertake procedures to evaluate the impact of state policies.

THE FEEDBACK LOOP

The R-P-P interfaces should not be unidirectional, with for example, research forming the base for policy and policy for programs; rather, all three components of the interface should mutually influence one another. For example, failure of legislation and welfare interventions to remedy social inequity even within the family suggests that acceptance of policy changes and interventions aimed at family well being are probably controlled more by family and household dynamics. Without material and ecological changes in the environment, it may not be possible or even desirable to change beliefs and values. Investigations informed by field experience in family studies on issues such as interrelationships between economic and environmental conditions, beliefs, attitudes, familial relationships and behaviour would provide illumination on family dynamics, and thus have important policy implications, especially for policies aimed at weaker sections of the population. Experience of program implementation should provide feedback to reshape policies and guide research.

STRENGTHENING LINKAGES

Relevance of Basic Research in India As mentioned earlier although there exists a sufficient fund of knowledge in Early Childhood Care and Education in India, the discipline lacks a strong theoretical base, perhaps because of the lack of government funding for the sort of basic research that could build up a theoretical base in an area of study. Different international funding agencies have their own priorities which might not be in consonance with the needs of the recipient country. Thus, needed research may get neglected in favour of research for which funding is available. Funding apart, the importance of, and need for, basic research in Early Childhood Care and Education in India is a hotly debated issue, even among researchers. Those against basic research consider it a luxury India can ill afford; those arguing for it hold the view that without a strong theory base that emerges from basic research, research cannot be linked to policy in any consistent manner.

Holistic Approach to Setting Objectives Approaches to interfaces between *Research*, Program and Public Policy, should not be piecemeal. Research must take a broad perspective of the implications of the suggestions it makes for policy and programs, anticipating positive and negative effects; the suggestions should include a system to take cognisance of untargeted consequences. For example, awareness of the need for pre-school exposure has led to a proliferation of private preschools, unmonitored and uncertified as to the quality of the programs they offer. A large proportion of these pre-schools offer programs that do little to develop the child's abilities. Some schools teach very small children reading, writing and arithmetic, though government policy has acknowledged this as being detrimental to the development of young children. Parents of children attending such schools hesitate to complain for the fear of offending the teacher or caregiver. A noticeable feature in the R-P-P interfaces in Early Childhood Care and Education in India, thus is their failure to act on behalf of the child. This, in part, due to the piecemeal approach to child development. On the one hand, the government has launched the Integrated Child Development Services to promote the development of small children; on the other, it stays completely away from the arena of private pre-schools, the quality of the programs offered by such pre-schools, thus going unchecked. It is necessary that agencies such as the Indian Association for Preschool Education take on the role of monitoring the quality of Early Childhood Care and Education in India.

In the area of school education, research efforts have been largely confined to issues such as curriculum development, text book evaluation, use of media, and so on. Children continue to find school stressful, and here too, the R-P-P interface has not acted on behalf of the child. Researchers and policy makers must ponder on their objectives, and deliberate on whether in their attempts to improve certain features of a child's life, they are not forgetting the overall development and well being of the child.

Another example of the failure of the R-P-P interfaces to act in a holistic fashion is the proliferation of legislation aimed at the welfare of children, without the will, infrastructure, or public support either to implement the legislations or improve the lot of the children. The legislations are prominent, then, for their failure to be implemented.

Another important area of concern which would benefit from a holistic approach is the gender bias against girls and women. Removing gender bias is not simply a question of changing the curriculum, or having better media projection, important though these are. Since gender bias is rooted in the attitudes of almost every person a child comes in contact with - teachers, parents, relations and friends, the piece-meal approach of changing the curriculum or literature and media projection, without attempting to change attitudes is not likely to be effective in undoing gender inequality. Yet attitudinal change is difficult to bring about. The persons responsible for shaping attitudes, teachers, for example, have their own sets of attitudes, which get passed on to the children. Research must therefore delve into the process of attitudinal change, understand the relationship between the existing attitudes and the environment and so provide the societal change agents with where-with-all to shape society's beliefs into a fairer and more equitable framework. Certainly teachers and other such groups of persons responsible for shaping attitudes will require training to enable them to get in touch with their own attitudes and beliefs, and those which they are passing on to their students. Such an approach is likely to be more successful than one which dilutes itself by attacking different aspects of gender inequality separately.

Indigenising the Approach to Problem Solving Researchers, policy and program planners must consider the costs and benefits of leap-frogging over the West, and the necessity of viewing Indian problems through Indian eyes. Some approaches which the West has tried out successfully might not be applicable to India. For example, in India, unlike in America, the argument is not whether or not children with special needs should or should not be mainstreamed into the regular education system. Children with mild to moderate difficulties are de facto, mainstreamed, and these children with special needs attend the regular class with other children, but their needs remain undiagnosed and unaddressed. Thus policy and practices aimed at improving the quality of primary education, by reducing the teacher-child ratio, providing more space and better teaching materials and aids, and building into inservice and preservice training of teachers, inputs on the process as by which children acquire skills, and the various kinds of problems children are likely to face, will partly take care of improved education for children with special needs. In view of the resource constraint, the Western approach of providing parallel education for children with special needs is neither feasible nor perhaps desirable here. Programs developed and implemented need to be suited to Indian needs and must reflect a sensitive assessment of the real need, which is not always easy. The academician researcher or policy and program planner would do well to sensitise himself or herself to an assessment of the needs as felt by the people who are to be the beneficiaries of a program. Needs change over time, and with circumstances, and the research system must make provision for updating the priority needs.

Examples of the presently felt needs with regard to programs are :

- Different groups of mothers are likely to have different types of child care needs, vis-a-vis duration, timing and nature of child care. There is need for a referral network of professionals, including doctors, to provide consultative services to agencies/individuals responsible for child care and also to educate adults on prevention of problems.
- Handicapped children with different handicaps have different needs for care, and institutional based interventions do not seem to be the answer for all handicapps.
- There is a strong need to extend welfare programs to girls in the 6-14 years age range, who are neither covered by the Integrated Child Development Services program at present, nor by the programs for women in their reproductive years.

Communication Communication among researchers from different disciplines, between researchers and funding agencies, researchers and policy and program making bodies, and between researchers, policy and program makers and the public, needs strengthening. Effective dissemination of research findings to pool knowledge and to inform the policy/program makers, as well as the public is needed. Communication has to be improved in terms of quantity, quality and medium. While it is not necessary for every researcher to be an expert communicator, effective researchers should certainly be able to think of and use the best means to reach out to those who can benefit from or will be affected by the findings of their research.

Planning, Implementing and Evaluating Programs

Accessibility of programs. Programs are more likely to be used if they are easily accessible. For example, a good place to locate an Anganwadi (under Integrated

Child Development Services) is near the local primary school so that siblings can carry the infants on their way to and from school. Accessibility, then is a question to which researchers interested in program implementation should address themselves.

Physical accessibility is only one dimension of accessibility. For instance women's accessibility to health services seems to be less than that of men. Obviously distance is not the sole factor here. Research must look with sensitivity into other dimensions of accessibility. Certain kinds of activities may be inaccessible to women because they conflict with women's perceptions of themselves, and society's conception of women.

Training personnel. Many alternate models of training for program implementors and field level workers exist, both in the government sector and in the voluntary sector. For example, in ECCE, a variety of programs of both long and short duration are available in India. What is required is for this type of training to be cross matched against field level needs. Given the diversity of needs, for child care of different groups of mothers, it is necessary to ascertain the useful aspects of the training presently available and thus to determine which training inputs are essential and/or useful for workers being trained for field work and program implementation in different settings. The constraints present in different settings could also be matched against the welfare or development needs, to establish some kind of priority of needs, and corresponding training inputs which are a "must" in every setting constraints notwithstanding.

Since community participation in effecting social change works better than imposing pre-planned and structured programs devoid of community involvement, research directed towards assessing the process by which community participation affects program effectiveness should also look at the effectiveness of using community volunteers as program workers. This then brings up the researchable/research question of the means of imparting sufficient training, and task simplification to enable less educated members of the community to be effective program workers. The need to document traditional methods of child rearing, and to use this material to train Early Childhood Care and Education workers and mothers has already been mentioned.

A feature of the many models for training in force is that they have mostly been tried out on a small scale on an experimental basis. There is a need to go on scale with some of these models and study their feasibility.

Community as change agent. Welfare programs offer certain tangible benefits, but the truly successful program is one that is able to sustain itself, without the prop of outside aid and render itself part of the community's way of life. The community, then, should be viewed as an important input in programs, right from the planning stage, and programs would benefit from providing motivation to communities. More needs to be known about the process by which the community acts as a change agent. Programs should aim at making communities and people self reliant and not at doling out aid. Research is required on the process of supporting communities to achieve self reliance. Communities seem to take to some programs better than they do to others, and some communities take to programs better than others do.

Communities appear, in general, to become involved in programs offered by voluntary agencies more easily than they do for government programs. Researchers must ask why this is so ? What are the factors which encourage or inhibit community participation in a program ? What are a community's perceptions and notions with regard

to different issues, and different kinds of programs ? How does a community perceive, for example, the problem of caring for its delinquent and orphaned/street children ? What would and could the community do to provide such care ? There is also a need to know how receptive the community is going to be towards behavioural transformation, and what support it requires to become self reliant in handling programs.

Program evaluation. The researcher is often involved in program formulation and sometimes implementation. Her roles are then somewhat conflicting. The role of researcher-evaluator requires scientific objectivity and neutrality and that of program planner requires a committment to and positive feeling for the program, which would seem to oppose objectivity. The researcher needs to contemplete the different roles, work out the requirements of each role, in order to resolve the conflict.

The researcher might be under different pressures while evaluating a program. These pressures could relate to pressures of time or money; where one of these is a constraint, necessitating a less than rigorous evaluation, and/or they could be pressures of outcome, when there is an implicit or explicit financial, organisational, social, political or personal pressure to produce a certain outcome in evaluation. Where the pressure is a relatively known quantity like insufficient time or resources, the researcher should ponder on the effects of the thus constrained evaluation on the outcome, and communicate the same to the commissioning agency, if she is not able to persuade the agency to remove the time or resource constraint. Pressures for outcome are more difficult top resolve and the researcher needs to question her stand and motives.

Perhaps the dilemma mentioned above could be partly resolved by building evaluation into the programs so that there is a constant or intermittant flow of feedback to researcher/program maker. The results of such formative evaluation could be used for corrective action by the researcher, rather than to pass judgement on the program through one summative evaluation at the end. Research is required on how to design evaluation systems into programs, the effectiveness and problems of such an approach, as well as its advantages.

Annexure I

PAPERS WRITTEN FOR THE SYMPOSIUM ON NEW DIRECTIONS IN HDFS : RESEARCH, POLICY AND PROGRAM INTERFACES

	TITLE OF PAPER	AUTHOR
	Family Studies	
1.	Study of childhood and family.	Krishna Kumar
2.	Research on marriage in India : Interface with laws and interventions	Murli Desai*
3.	Women's Studies as a cross fertilizer for Human Development and Family Studies	Shagufa Kapadia
4.	Family Studies in the Indian context : A critical appraisal and new directions	Rajalakshmi Sriram
	Early Childhood Care and Education	
5.	Early Childhood Care and Education with specific focus on policy issues	R. Muralidharan & Venita Kaul
6.	Early Childhood Education with special focus on gender issues	Veena Mistry
7.	Early Childhood Care and Education with focus on substantive and methodological issues	Prerana Mohite
8.	Special Education in India with special focus on learning disabilities	Baljit Kaur & Pratibha Karanth
	Family and Child Welfare	
9.	Child welfare with focus on policy issues	Sindhu Phadke
10.	Family and Child Welfare with special focus on gender bias	Usha Abrol
11.	Child care strategies in India : Problems and prospects	Sukhdeep Gill
12.	Mental health : Linkages between Human Development & Family Studies and Psychopathology	Malavika Kapur
13.	Interface between Child Development and Paediatrics - Meeting of minds	Pratibha Singhi & S. Radhika

	TITLE OF PAPER	AUTHOR
	Human Development	
14.	Female adolescent identity : A model	Neerja Sharma & S. Anandalakshmy
15.	Using ethnographic methods in Human Development research	Meera Oke
16.	Development and field testing of simple indicators of psychological development of rural children 0-6 years of age	Shahnaz Vazir *
17.	Theoretical despairs and methodological predicaments of Developmental Psychology in India : Some reflections	Ajit Mohanty & P. Prakash
18.	Some methodological issues related to research in Developmental Psychology in the context of policy and intervention programs	Durganand Sinha & R.C. Mishra
19.	Nature of knowledge in Developmental Psychology : Some reflections	Uday Dash*

*These papers were not presented at the Symposium as the authors were unable to attend.

Annexure II

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Annexure III

PROGRAM SCHEDULE

Day I, Thursday, November 8, 1990

10.00 a.m. - 11.30 a.m.	Inauguration
12.00 noon - 12.30 p.m.	Orientation to Chairpersons, Discussants and Rapporteurs
1.30 p.m. - 3.45 p.m.	Presentations

Group I : Family Studies

Speakers	Chairperson : R. Muralidharan
o Krishna Kumar	Discussant : Malavika Kapur
o Rajalakshmi Sriram	
o Shagufa Kapadia	

3.45 p.m. - 5.45 p.m.	Presentations

Group II : Early Childhood Care and Education

Speakers	Chairperson : Mina Swaminathan
o R. Muralidharan	Discussant : Krishna Kumar
o Veena Mistry	
o Prerana Mohite	
o Baljit Kaur	

Day II, Friday, November 9, 1990

10.00 a.m. - 12.45 p.m.	Presentations

Group III : Family and Child Welfare

Speakers	Chairperson : Veena Mistry
o Sindhu Phadke	Discussant : R. Muralidharan
o Usha Abrol	
o Sukhdeep Gill	
o Malavika Kapur	
o Pratibha Singhi	

1.45 p.m. - 5.00 p.m.	Presentations

Group IV : Human Development

Speakers	Chairperson : Ajit Mohanty
o Neerja Sharma	Discussant : Durganand Sinha
o Meera Oke	
o Ajit Mohanty	
o Durganand Sinha	

Day III, Saturday, November 10, 1990

9.30 a.m. - 1.00 p.m.	Sub-group meetings

Group I : Human Development and Family Studies

Chairperson : Ajit Mohanty

Group II : Early Childhood Care and Education and Family and Child Welfare

Chairperson : Amita Verma

2.00 p.m. - 4.00 p.m.	Presentations of sub-group reports
4.00 p.m. - 5.00 p.m.	Winding up

Annexure IV

GUIDELINES FOR UNIVERSITY TEACHING DEPARTMENTS

How to increase the sensitivity to the Indian context in the teaching-learning situation of post graduate training programs in Child/Human Development, Psychology, Social Work and Education.

1. Use the Orientation Course/Refresher Training Course for college teachers for shifting the teachers' orientation of dependency on western literature/texts alone to a balanced use of key Indian references.

2. All concerned departments be encouraged to make a concerted effort toward revising their syllabi as well as examination questions to reflect more contemporary concerns and contextualize the same in the Indian setting.

3. Set up a tradition of including prominent survey of Indian literature in the Review section of Masters, M.Phil. and Doctoral dissertations.

4. In order to prepare ecologically valid tests in the Indian contexts, test construction needs to be treated as a legitimate and priority area of research for departmental research activity. In conjunction with such departmental projects, encourage the choice of Test Construction as a priority area in M.Phil. and Ph.D. dissertations. If based on sound conceptual basis, context specificity, and appropriateness and sound scientific test construction procedures, such efforts will go a long way toward creating a sorely needed pool of the well constructed and ecologically valid tests in our country.

5. More research scholars should be encouraged to use the National Council of Educational Research and Training Test Library to make a considered choice regarding the use of available tests.

6. Departments be encouraged to make a conscious effort to exchange information on Tests and bibliographic information compiled by research scholars/staff especially when the focus is on Indian Tests/references.

7. A concerted effort be made to introduce concepts related to policy oriented research in the post graduate Research Methods courses. These may include units such as Large Scale Sampling designs, Multi-variate Analysis, quick assessment measures, use of secondary data etc.

Annexure V

OBJECTIVES OF TASK FORCE IN ECCE

It is recommended that in order to promote the interface between research, policy and programme implementation in Human Development and Family Studies, especially in the area of Early Childhood Care and Education, a task force consisting of an interdisciplinary team of professionals be formed with the following objectives in mind :

- strengthen the available knowledge base by providing a comprehensive framework for research in early child development, education and care.

- identify weak links and data gaps to provide direction to researches conducted by university departments and institutions of higher learning. The prime institutions in the field of early child development, education and care such as National Council of Educational Research and Training and National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development should take on the responsibility of coordinating the research efforts with the university departments.

- act as a watchdog to monitor the translation of research findings to policy and program implementation.

- coordinate the dissemination of information and transfer of technology.

- locate/ identify individuals and institutions that have the know-how to strengthen the field of Early Childhood Care and Education.